

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 0532

EXDIS

ROME PLEASE PASS SENATOR PERCY

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IS

SUBJECT: SENATOR PERCY'S MEETING WITH FORMIN ALLON

1. FORMIN AND MRS. ALLON HOSTED WORKING DINNER ON JAN 22 FOR SENATOR AND MRS. PERCY AND PARTY, ALSO INCLUDED WERE MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO GIDEON HAUSNER(ILP, M.K. SMUEL TAMIR(FREE CENTER-LIKUD) OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY COMMITTEE OF THE KNESSET, AND CHARGE.

2. SENATOR PERCY EMPHASIZED THAT NOW WAS TIME FOR FURTHER MAJOR MOVEMENT TOWARD SETTLEMENT IN MID EAST.THERE WAS SERIOUS CONCERN IN U.S. THAT WAR WOULD BE RESULT UNLESS NEW MOMENTUM TOWARD PEACE WAS GENERATED IN NEAR FUTURE. THE SENATOR NOTED THAT IN HIS TRAVELS IN ARAB WORLD HE HAD BEEN STRUCK BY FACT THAT MOST ARAB LEADERS WANTED PEACE(EMPHASIZING SADAT, IN PARTICULAR) AND MOST ARABS WERE ALSO CONVINCED ISRAEL WAS PREPARING TO INITIATE ANOTHER WAR WITH WEAPONS PROVIDED BY U.S.

3. SENATOR TOOK OCCASION TO POINT OUT THAT ISRAEL MUST NOT BE
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IN ANY DOUBT AS TO U.S.REACTION IN EVENT OF ISRAELI PRE-EMPTIVE

STRIKE. SHOULD THIS HAPPEN, U.S.-ISRAELI PARTNERSHIP WOULD BE DISSOLVED AND ISREL WOULD STAND ALONE.

4. ALLON NOTED THAT WHILE ISRAELIS DID NOT AGREE ON TACTICS (NODDING IN DIRECTION OF TAMIR), THEY WERE UNITED IN DESIR FOR PEACE. ALLON STATED THAT THERE WERE NO ISRAELI LEADERS WHO WERE ADVOCATING, OR WOULD SUPPORT A PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE. THE ARABS, THEREFORE, SHOULD HAVE NO CONCERN ON THAT SCORE. ALLON THEN SHIFTED GROUND AND ATTEMPTED MAKE DISTINCTION BETWEEN PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE (WHICH HE RULED OUT CATEGORICALLY) AND FIRST STRIKE, I.E., MILITARY ACTION DESIGNED TO BEAT OPPONENT TO THE PUNCH WHO WAS MOBILIZED AND POISED TO STRIKE HIMSELF. (HE DID NOT RULE THIS OUT).

5. SENATOR STATED THAT IT OBVIOUS IT WAS NECESSARY TO MOVE TOWARD PEACE AND REDUCE TENSIONS IN ORDER TO AVOID WAR WHICH NO ONE WANTED AND WOULD BE AGAINST INTERESTS OF ALL CONCERNED. HE REMARKED THAT HE WAS VERY IMPRESSED WITH SADAT WHO APPEARED GENUINELY TO WANT PEACE WITH ISRAEL. HE EMPHASIZED SADAT'S MODERATENESS, STATED ISRAEL HAD TO TAKE OPPORTUNITY NOW TO DO BUSINESS WITH HIM, AND SUGGESTED THAT UNLESS ISRAEL SEIZED CHANCE, SADAT AND OTHER ARAB MODERATES MIGHT NOT BE IN PLACE VERY LONG.

6. ALLON REPLIED THAT ISRAEL WAS READY AND WILLING TO DO BUSINESS WITH SADAT. HOWEVER, ISRAEL WAS UNWILLING AND UNABLE TO WRITE SADAT A BLANK CHECK. ANY NEW AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE RESULT OF GIVE AND TAKE ON BOTH SIDES. GOI WAS STILL WAITING TO HEAR WHAT SADAT WAS WILLING TO OFFER. (HAUSNER SUPPORTED THIS VIEW; TAMIR DID "NOT OBJECT," BUT MADE CLEAR HE WAS INTERESTED IN A FINAL SETTLEMENT WITH EGYPT AND A PEACE TREATY). ALLON AND OTHER ISRAELIS POINTED TO THE RECENT INTERVIEW IN LE MONDE AS EVIDENCE SADAT WAS NOT WILLING TO GIVE MUCH, IF ANYTHING.

7. ALLON THEN CRITICIZED "THOSE" (UNNAMED) WHO KEPT REFERRING TO THE PROBABILITY OF ANOTHER WAR IN THE NEAR FUTURE UNLESS ISRAEL MADE GREAT CONCESSIONS. HE CLAIMED THAT THIS HAD CHARACTERISTICS OF SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY. GREAT CONCERN BEING EXPRESSED IN THE WEST OVER A NEW WAR WOULD ENCOURAGE ARABS TO TRY LEVERAGING INTO OBTAINING CONCESSIONS FROM ISREL WHICH GOI COULD NOT GIVE. THIS COULD INDEED LEAD TO WAR.

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8. ALLON ALSO INITIATED GENERAL DISCUSSION OF NEED FOR CONTINUING LARGE-SCALE U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE. HE MADE PITCH ALONG FAMILIAR LINES, EMPHASIZING VALUE TO U.S. AND NATO) OF STRONG ISRAEL WHICH HAD IMPLICATIONS BEYOND MIDDLE EAST.

9. REITERATING OT BASIC THEME OF NEED FOR QUICK MOVEMENT RE NEGOTIATIONS, SENATOR PRAISED SECRETARY KISSINGER, NOTING HE

UNIQUE MAN IN UNIQUE CIRCUMSTANCES IM MID EAST, EMPHASIZING THAT HE ACCPETABLE TO ALL SIDES. SENATOR EXPRESSED PERSONAL SUPPORT FOR SECRETARY'S STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH, MAKING POINT HE DID NOT BELIEVE GENEVA COULD PROVIDE SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS OF MID EAST. SENATOR THEM EMPHASIZED THAT IT CLEAR THAT AS FAR AS MIDEAST WAS CONCERNED, CONGRESS, SECRETARY, VICE PRESIDENT AND PRESIDENT WERE UNITEDIN VIEW.

10. LAST POINT RAISED BY SENATOR WAS PALESTINIANS. SENATOR NOTED THAT IT WAS BECOMINGINCREASINGLY OBVIOUS THAT PALESEINIAN ISSUE HERE TO STAY AND HAD TO BE SOLVED IF STABLIITY AND PEACE WERE TO COME TO AREA. HE NOTED THAT QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN HOMELAND WAS VITAL. (ALLON PRECEDED HIS REPLY BY PRETENDING TO ROLL UP HIS SLEEVES*) ALLON BEGAN HIS REPLY BY A LONG RAMBLING DISCOURSE ON THE HISTORY--OR LACK THEROF-- OF THE PALESTINAINS THE POINT WAS TO " PROVE" THAT JORDAN WAS THE PALESTINAIN HOMELAND. HE NOTED THAT BOTH MEIR AND RABIN GOVERNEMENTS HAD OFFERED TO DEAL WITH HUSSEIN ON THE WEST BANK(DESPITE SEVERE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS),BUT THE ATTEMPT FAILED DUE TO DESIRE BOTH OF HUSSEIN AND SADATTO WAIT UNTIL AFTER RABAT. THEY MISJUDGED, AND THE RESULT WAS WHAT WE HAVE TODAY. UNDER PRODDING FROM THE SENATORALLON ADMITTED THAT AN OPPORTUNITY HAD BEEN MISSED TO MAKE A DEAL WITH HUSSEIN IN THE SPRING OF 1974, BUT WOULD NOT ADMIT THIS WASISRAEL'S FAULT: HE STATED," WE BOTH MISSED THE TRAIN."

11. ALLON THEM GOT TO THE BOTTOM LINE: ISRAEL IS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE PALESTINANNNS; ISREL WILL NOT DEAL WITH THE PLO. HE SUGGESTED THAT HUSSEIN WAS NOT UNHAPPY OVER THIS ISRAELI POSITION, SINCE HUSSEIN UNDOUBTEDLY BELIEVES THAT , IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, HEWILL BE ISREL'S NEGOTIATING PARTNER. THE SENATOR NOTED THAT IN HIS OPINION HUSSEINWAS SCRUPULOUSLY CONFIDENTIAL

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IMPLEMENTING THE RABAT DECISIONS, WHILE STOPPING SHORT OF JUST CUTTING THE WEST BANK ADRIFT. HE NOTD THAT HUSSEIN WANTED PEAE AND WAS IMPRESSIVE DURING HIS VISIT TO AMMAN.

12. COMMENT: SENATOR DID NOT HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW FOREGOING BEFORE DEPARTURE. ADDRESSEES SHOULDKEEP IN MIND, THEREFORE, THAT IT IS SUBJECT TO REVISION AFTER SENATOR PERCY'S REVIEW. VELIOTES

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